

THE

AMERICAN CRISIS

IN RELATION TO

SLAVERY.

"Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim. There is a law above all the enactments of human codes, the same throughout the world, the same in all times. Such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the source of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes: such it is at this day. It is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man: and by that law, unchangeable and eternal; while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they will reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man."—Lord Brougham.

BY JOHN WADDINGTON, D.D.

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IN

RELATION TO THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

WE propose in the following pages to state with brevity facts which may aid those who are interested in the progress of Christian civilization, to form an impartial judgment on the origin of the present struggle in America, and its practical results in relation to the four millions of people held in bondage in the Southern States.

Without entering on an extended historical review it seems to be necessary to glance at THE RELATIVE STATE OF PARTIES ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT CONFLICT.

The war originated, as we all know, on the election of PRESIDENT LINCOLN. The policy of an appeal to arms on either side we have not now to examine, although the responsibility of that appeal lies at the door of the South.*

The first document we have to notice is that which contains the "*Platform*" or *declaration of principles made by the Republican party*, in the Chicago Convention, (May 16th, 1860,) when Mr. Lincoln was nominated as the candidate for the election. The seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles of this political manifesto have reference to Slavery, but it will be sufficient for our purpose

* On the 6th of March, 1861, the Southern Congress at Montgomery authorized Jefferson Davis to raise a force of 100,000 men. It was not until the following 15th of April, and after the war had been commenced by the reduction of Fort Sumter, that President Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 volunteers.

to cite the eighth, which is to the following effect: "That *the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom*, that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, wherever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it, and *we deny the authority of Congress, or a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any territory of the United States.*"

To understand the practical importance of this declaration, we turn to the speeches made by the leading representatives of the Republican party. In a speech of the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER on the "Republican party—its origin and purpose," at New York, July 11th, 1860, (which consists chiefly of a denunciation of Slavery,) we find the following peroration: "All good omens are ours. The work cannot stop. Quickened by the triumph now at hand—with a Republican President in power—State after State quitting the condition of a territory, and spurning Slavery, will be welcomed into one plural unit, and joining hands together, they will become as a belt of fire, girt about the Slave States, in which *Slavery must die*: or happier still, joining hands together, they will become to the Slave States a zone of freedom, radiant like the ancient cestus of beauty, with transforming power." This exposition of the views of the party accords with the statements made by the speakers at the Republican gathering held in New York, on February 22nd, 1860. The Hon. GEORGE OPDYKE, on that occasion, said: "*The first and highest aim of the Republican party is to subordinate Slavery to freedom by confining it within its present limits.* We regard Slavery as sectional, and freedom national—Slavery the accident, freedom the ruling principle of our government. We believe with Washington and Jefferson and all their contemporaries, that the institution of Slavery is a wrong and an outrage on the enslaved, and a terrible misfortune to the slaveholder. Thus believing, we desire to preserve the terri-

tories of the Union from its blighting presence, and to hand them down to posterity a rich inheritance for the untold millions of freemen who will hereafter occupy them."

DR. THORNWELL, reputed to be *the ablest writer in justification of Slavery*, recognizes, ON THE PART OF THE SOUTH, the aim of the Republican party to be what they represented. He reviewed the proceedings of the Secession Convention held at Columbia, South Carolina, on the 20th of December, 1860. In a reprint of this review, contained in a pamphlet entitled "Hear the South," he says: "*The general, almost the universal attitude of the Northern mind is one of hostility to Slavery.* Those who are not prepared to condemn it as a sin, nor to meddle with it where it is legally maintained, are yet opposed to it as a natural and political evil which every good man should desire to see extinguished. They all regard it as an element of weakness, and as a drawback upon the prosperity and glory of the country. They pity the South as caught in the folds of a serpent, which is gradually squeezing out her life. And even when they defend us from the reproach of sin in sustaining the relation, they make so many distinctions between the abstract notion of Slavery and the system of our own laws, that their defence would hardly avail to save us, if there were any power to hang and quarter us. We are sure that we do not misrepresent the general tone of Northern sentiment. *It is one of hostility to Slavery*—it is one which, while it might not be willing to break faith, under the present administration, with respect to the express injunctions of the Constitution, *is utterly and absolutely opposed to any further extension of the system.*"

"Apart from the degradation," DR. THORNWELL continues, "which it inflicts upon the South, it may be asked, what real injury will result from putting the government in an attitude of hostility to Slavery?"

"The answer is, in the first place, that *it will certainly lead to the extinction of the system.* You may destroy the oak as effectually by girdling it as by cutting it down. The North are well assured that if they circumscribe the area of Slavery, if they can surround it with a circle of

non-slaveholding States, and prevent it from expanding, *nothing more is required to secure its ultimate abolition.* The triumph of the principles which Mr. Lincoln is pledged to carry out, is the *death knell of Slavery*" "It is becoming every day clearer that *the people of the North hate Slavery more than they love the Union*, and they are developing this spirit in a form which must soon bring every slaveholding State within the ranks of secession. The evil day may be put off, but it must come. The country must be divided into two people, and the point which we wish now to press upon the whole South is, the importance of preparing, at once, for this consummation" "No man objects to the legality of the process of Mr. Lincoln's election. The objection is to the legality of that to which he is elected." THE UNION PARTY, represented by MR. BELL and MR. EVERETT, gave the same testimony respecting the main design of the Republican leaders. The HON. JOHN BELL, of Tennessee, in a letter dated Nashville, December 6th, 1860, addressed to the Mass Meeting held at Vicksburg, says; "The election of Mr. Lincoln by a sectional party, organized and sustained upon *the distinctive principle of opposition to Slavery*, as it exists in the Southern States, and *avowing the policy of its repression, and final extinction*, (by prohibiting its extension into the territories) was a bold experiment upon the temper and forbearance of the South, and upon the strength of their loyalty to the Union. No greater strain upon the ligaments which bind the two sections of the country together could be devised, than the attempt to establish or inaugurate a permanent government policy on such principles. In form *the election was in strict accordance with the regulations prescribed by the Constitution and the laws.* The objection to it is, that it was effected by a purely sectional party, *organized upon the principle of hostility to Slavery*, and having for its *prime object the repression of Slavery, as a permanent administrative policy*, with a view to its *ultimate extinction.* It cannot be doubted that an administration of the government, based upon this policy, could *operate far more effectually in bringing about the extinction of Slavery in the South, through official*

influence and patronage than by any more direct mode of attack. . . . The only essential difference I can perceive between the spirit and tendency of the doctrines and avowed policy of the Republican party and the Abolition societies, is in the extent and degree of the mischief which may be inflicted upon the South by one or the other, and the deliberate intention to inflict them by the Abolition societies, which it would be unfair and unjust to impute to the whole body of the Republican party The degree and extent of the mischief which the Republican party may be able to inflict by its Anti-Slavery policy, for reasons which I need not state, it will be readily acknowledged, will be tenfold greater than any which the Abolition societies have it in their power to inflict."

All doubt as to the point must be removed by a reference to the "Message of JEFFERSON DAVIS, *President of the Confederate States.*" Amongst the grievances which led to secession, MR. DAVIS says: "A great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the Slave States from all participation of the benefits of the public domain, acquired by all the States in common, whether by conquest or purchase; of surrounding them entirely by States in which Slavery should be prohibited; of thus rendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be entirely worthless."

MR. STEPHENS, the Vice-President of the Confederate States, in his address at Augusta, Georgia, July 11th, 1861, fully concurs in this testimony: "The new Constitution (of the Southern Slave States in the South) has put at rest for ever all the agitating questions relating to their peculiar institution—African Slavery as it exists amongst us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. *This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution.* The prevailing ideas entertained by Jefferson and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the *old Constitution* were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature: that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. Our *new government* is founded upon *exactly the*

opposite ideas: its foundations are laid, the corner stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that Slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition." Mr. Stephens adds the blasphemous comment: "The stone which was rejected by the first builders is become the 'chief stone of the corner' of the new edifice."

The tone of the Southern press is indicated by the utterances of the *Charleston Mercury*—anticipating the consequences of Mr. Lincoln's election, it is said in that pro-slavery journal, October 11th, 1860:—

"We propose to show what will probably be the consequences of a submission of the Southern States to the rule of abolitionism at Washington, in the persons of Messrs. Lincoln and Hamlin, should they be elected to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States.

"The first effect of the submission of the South to the installation of Abolitionists in the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States, must be a powerful consolidation of the strength of the Abolition party at the North. Success generally strengthens. If, after all the threats of resistance and disunion, made in Congress and out of Congress, the Southern States sink down into acquiescence, the demoralization of the South will be complete. Add the patronage resulting from the control of ninety-four thousand offices, and the expenditure of eighty millions of money annually, and they must be irresistible in controlling the general government.

"Immediate danger will be brought to Slavery in all the frontier states. When a party is enthroned at Washington, in the executive and legislative departments of the government, whose creed it is to repeal the Fugitive Slave Laws, the *Underground Railroad* will become an *Overground Railroad*. The tenure of slave property will be felt to be weakened; and the slaves will be sent down to the cotton states for sale, and the frontier states enter on the policy of making themselves Free States.

"With the control of the government of the United States, and an organized and triumphant North to sustain them, the Abolitionists will renew their operations upon the South with increased courage. The thousands in every country who look up to power and make gain out of the future, will come out in support of the Abolition government."

The *Richmond Examiner*, in a recent issue, says it is proposed in some parts of the South to make a forced conscription of slaves for purposes of labour, and it adds:—"As the war originated and is carried on in great part for the defence of the slaveholder in his property, rights, and the perpetuation of the institution, he ought to be first and foremost in aiding, by every means in his power, the triumph and success of our arms. The slaveholder ought to remember that for every negro he thus furnishes he puts a soldier in the ranks."

THE OVERTURES OF PEACE AND THE PROPOSALS FOR COMPROMISE hinged mainly on the question of Slavery.

In his special message to Congress on the state of the

country, Jan. 9th, 1861, PRESIDENT BUCHANAN said: "The proposition to compromise, by letting the North have exclusive control of the territory above a certain line, and to *give Southern institutions protection* below that line, ought to receive universal approbation."

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky, in his speech in the Senate, March 11th, 1861, reviewed the proceedings of the Committee of thirteen representative men from all parts of the Union, and said the Republican party "*refused all guarantees as to Slavery* and to an equitable division of territory." Mr. HALE, in reply to Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, said: "How did the country stand at the time the Constitution was formed, and at this very day as to Slavery in the territories? When the States of Virginia and Kentucky came into the Confederacy of the States, what was the law? Slavery was prohibited not only by statute, but by a compact irrevocable in every inch of territory over which the Federal jurisdiction was exercised. And, in 1789, when Washington took the oath of office, the Federal flag did not wave over an inch of the broad earth outside the limits of any State where Slavery was not prohibited by compact and declared to be irrevocable. In 1820, you declared Slavery should not exist north of 36 degrees 30 minutes. This act remained in force till 1854, and then what did you do? You are talking about our aggressions. You broke down the time-honoured compact, you removed the restriction, and you spread Slavery over the continent outside the States of the Union."

Nothing would satisfy the representatives of the South, in the Peace Convention, but guarantees for Slavery. To this demand the Republican leaders could not submit. PRESIDENT LINCOLN, in his message to Congress, July 4th, 1861, said: "It was with the deepest regret that the Executive found the duty of employing the war power, in defence of the government, forced upon them. He could but perform this duty, or surrender the existence of the government. No compromise, by public servants, could, in this case, be a cure. Not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular government can long

survive a marked precedent, that those who carry an election can only save the government from immediate destruction by *giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election*. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decision.

“As a private citizen, the Executive could not have consented that these institutions should perish, much less could he, in betrayal of so vast and sacred a trust as these free people had confided to him. *He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the chances of his own life in what might follow.*”

It is important to notice THE MEANS BY WHICH THE CONFLICTING PARTIES PROPOSE TO SECURE THEIR OBJECTS.

The third article of the Republican “Platform” is to the following effect: “That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honour abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that *no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion*, so often made by Democratic members of Congress without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke and for ever silence.”

“What the Republican party proposes to do,” said the HON. WM. CURTIS NOYES, “is to be done lawfully, under the Constitution; by force of persuasion and argument, by the operation of deliberate conviction peaceably produced, and not by violence or outrage.”

Mr. SEWARD, in his speech on the President’s message, January 12th, 1861, said: “When the angry excitements of the hour shall have subsided, and calmness shall have resumed its accustomed sway over the public mind, I should cheerfully advise a convention of the people to be

assembled in pursuance of the Constitution, to consider and decide whether any and what amendments of the organic law ought to be made. I shall cheerfully lend to the government my best support in whatever prudent yet energetic efforts it shall make to preserve the public peace, and to maintain and preserve the Union; advising, only, that it practice, as far as possible, the utmost moderation, forbearance, and conciliation."

It was on this occasion that the poet WHITTIER addressed to him the beautiful sonnet :

TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Statesman, I thank thee!—and, if yet dissent
Mingles, reluctant, with my large content,
I cannot censure what was nobly meant.
But, while constrained to hold even Union less
Than Liberty and Truth and Righteousness,
I thank thee in the sweet and holy name
Of peace, for wise calm words that put to shame
Passion and party. Courage may be shown
Not in defiance of the wrong alone ;
He may be bravest who, unweaponed, bears
The olive branch, and, strong in justice, spares
The rash wrong-doer, giving widest scope
To Christian charity and generous hope.
If, without damage to the sacred cause
Of Freedom and the safeguard of its laws—
If, without yielding that for which alone
We prize the Union, thou canst save it now
From a baptism of blood, upon thy brow
A wreath whose flowers no earthly soil have known,
Woven of the beatitudes, shall rest ;
And the peacemaker be for ever blest !

The juncture was critical. For the sake of peace the leaders in Congress were in danger of sacrificing the object for which they were elected. "Disguise it as we may," said Mr. HORACE GREELY, January 24th, 1861, "every division of the Anti-Republican forces is now hard at work to wring from the Republicans the largest possible measure of renunciation or desertion of their vital principle, as payment for the condescension of said Anti-Republicans in forbearing to break up the Union and plunge its fragments into civil war.

"The free North fearlessly commits her cause to the

tribunal of reason and conscience. What she proposes to do, and why she proposes to do it, are known to and emphatically approved by the Christian world. If the South persists in rebelling and breaking up the Union because of Northern repugnance to the extension of Slavery, she will have not one hearty ally this side of the King of Dahomey. Those who want her cotton will buy it at the market price; but they will pay for it in cash, not in consent to what their souls abhor. They do not nicely consider by what kind of labour the cotton was produced, but they repel the suggestion of complicity with the directors of that labour, the monopolizers of its profits. If the slaveholders see fit to stand out by themselves, and thus challenge the attention of mankind, so be it; they may find additional safety and stability in that position, but that is not the probable result. Only let it be generally understood that the Republicans, while they do not desire disunion, are not afraid of it, and cannot be driven to repudiate their principles by threats of it, and all will yet be well."

It is well known that the Southern slave party threatened, in anticipation of the election of Mr. Lincoln, to prevent his inauguration, and to rend the Union. They relied on cotton to secure their desired supremacy. "We have only," said the *Charleston Mercury*, "to hold on to our cotton, and the armies of the United and Confederate States constitute but a small portion of the population to be killed by the war between them. *Starvation in Europe will destroy fifty times more than rifles and cannon in America*—and it must do it speedily. In six months there must be immense distress, and in nine months convulsions, political, commercial, and social, in more than one country in Europe. *On cotton, therefore, more than diplomacy, do we rely for coercing the recognition, by foreign nations, of the Confederate States.*"*

* In conjunction with this prediction, we call attention to the sublime patience of our manufacturing population, and to the prospects of the cotton supply, as stated in the *Economist* :—

"We beg attention to the following figures, which are procured from the best sources, and may be relied upon as carefully and moderately framed.

"A short time ago, the stock of cotton in Liverpool had fallen below 70,000 bales, and prices were very wild in consequence. Exports were checked, and purchases for

THE PRESENT RESULTS OF THE STRUGGLE IN CONNECTION WITH SLAVERY also demand our attention.

The *legislation* on this subject, of the thirty-seventh Congress, which adjourned July 17th, 1862, was unprecedented.

In the Confiscation Bill it is decreed that the Union and its armies shall no longer recognize loyal persons as the slaves of rebels, nor permit such persons, with its assent or connivance, to be held in chattel bondage.

A bill also passed recognizing the independence of *Haiti* and of *Liberia*, and providing for diplomatic representatives to them. The action of Congress was not necessary in the case, because the President has power to receive or send diplomatic representatives at his discretion, but he invited the joint action of Congress for greater stability and dignity in the act.

home consumption almost ceased. Cargoes began also to arrive from India and elsewhere. The stock gradually augmented under the combined operation of these influences, till it reached, at the end of October, 350,000. It is now pretty certain that, calculating on what has yet to arrive, and making liberal allowance for probable purchase and export, the stock at the end of the year will reach nearly if not quite 400,000 bales. The supply which we shall obtain from India is still no doubt to a considerable extent obscure; but the best informed merchants count on decidedly more than last year, and in our expectations from Brazil and Egypt, we cannot be very far wrong; the demand for export next year, will, it is anticipated, be large. The Continent will have to draw almost its entire supply from this country, instead of a portion only, as in ordinary years, when much American cotton goes direct to Havre, and not a little Egyptian cotton direct to Trieste. The estimate for 1863 will then stand thus:—

	Bales.
Stock of all kinds on December 31st, 1862	400,000
Probable imports from India	1,400,000
" " Egypt	200,000
" " Brazil	150,000
" " Other quarters	25,000
	<hr/>
Total supply for 1863	1,775,000
	2,175,000."

Attention has naturally been strongly directed to these estimates, but we are assured by an eminent manufacturer, who has made the subject of cotton supply a special study, that the anticipation of relief, on the part of the writer in the *Economist*, is far too sanguine. He states, to our regret, that his calculations are not reliable. The pressure on the springs of industry, therefore, will still be continued, and there will be a continuous necessity for the exercise of that generous sympathy, which, to the honour of our country, is extending throughout the British Empire. Heart to heart and hand to hand we must stand by our 600,000 suffering operatives, and, in many instances, their no less tried employers. But suffer as we may, *let us be on the right side* as to the cause of humanity and freedom. Let there be no cringing to the slave-power or calamities in this form may become periodical.

Mr. Seward, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with the sanction of the Senate, entered into a treaty with the British government for the effectual suppression of the slave trade, admitting for this purpose the right of search.

A still more decisive measure was adopted in the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. By this enactment the United States emancipated every slave held in Slavery by Federal law. The United States proper have now no slaves.

The crowning act of the Congress was the passing of the bill excluding Slavery from all territories of the United States. The national domain (called the territories) not embraced by the boundaries of any existing State, amounts to 1,363,370 square miles, an area much greater than that covered by all the States lying between the Atlantic ocean and the Mississippi river—not much less, perhaps, than the area covered by all the present States. The act states, that it is passed “to the end that freedom may be and remain for ever *the fundamental law of the land* in all places, so far as it lies in the power or depends upon the action of the government of the United States to make it so.”

The *proclamation* of President Lincoln, in reference to conditional abolition, on the first of January, 1863, and to his intention to offer compensation to the loyal States on the emancipation of their slaves, indicates the onward course of freedom.

Without the support of public opinion in the Free States this important document would only be a dead letter, and positively embarrassing and injurious to the cause of emancipation. It is deeply interesting to find that the President is sustained, and that the proclamation is hailed with enthusiasm by those who placed him in power; the evidence of this sustentation is too decisive to be mistaken in the adhesion of the governors of sixteen Free States, and in the resolutions adopted by the Republican Convention—and by religious associations and various popular assemblies.

Nothing is more interesting than to mark THE INCIPIENT CHANGES IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

Rightly to estimate their character and influence we

must contrast them with the state of things which existed before the commencement of this momentous conflict. Considerable misapprehension exists as to the supposed unanimity in the Slave States. Of course those who speak of the unanimous declaration for secession leave out of their estimate the four millions of slaves.* In the rule which allows that the number of representatives of the States shall be proportioned to the number of free inhabitants, an exception is made in favour of the Slaveholding States. Every five slaves are to be counted as three white persons. The practical effect of this provision, Dr. Hodge tells us is, that "Florida, with its forty-seven thousand white inhabitants, and its twenty-three millions of property, had as much influence in the Senate of the United States as New York, with its three millions of inhabitants, and one thousand millions of property. There are only twenty-five thousand slaveholders in South Carolina, and yet they had as much control in the government as the two million five hundred thousand people in Pennsylvania."

How far the non-slaveholding people have been overawed or coerced to support the Southern Confederacy we have yet to learn. The Hon. A. J. Hamilton, member of Congress for the western district of Texas, has recently applied to the Federal government for military aid. He reports that Unionism was everywhere repressed with a strong hand, yet nowhere extinguished. He has no doubt that a *majority* of the people of western Texas are willing to return to the Union, and he approves of the policy of President Lincoln with respect to Slavery. It is stated that the Federal troops have taken Galveston and occupy the Sabine pass, the entrance by sea to Texas. A correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, writing from Newburn, North Carolina, October 22nd, 1862, says: "Great popular demonstrations have been made at various points in this department recently in favour of free labour and the President's proclamation. The most radical and liberal views are publicly expressed by the speakers at these meetings, and

* According to the Census of 1860, the entire white population of the ten rebel States, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia, amounted to four millions six hundred and twenty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-five.

are received with enthusiastic approbation by the people. It is a most significant fact that the non-slaveholders, who are, of course, as everybody knows, largely in the majority in North Carolina, as soon as protection is afforded them, express and applaud the strongest Anti-Slavery sentiments and the bitterest denunciations of the slave oligarchy. *The free labour feeling*, I can affirm deliberately from a wide and careful observation, is the *prevalent one* in all that portion of the State which is now within the Union lines. As to the Union men, who are chiefly non-slaveholders, they are pretty nearly unanimous in their hatred of an institution, to extend and perpetuate which, to the utter ruin of all other interests, they believe to have been the prime cause of the rebellion."

But it is the marvellous change in the circumstances of the negro population in the free settlements formed on the Southern coast that is most interesting. As far as the rigid enforcement of law could prevail in the Southern States, the slaves were deprived of the blessings of freedom and denuded of the means by which they might be prepared for their fruition. "I warn the Abolitionists," said Mr. Hammond, governor of South Carolina, "ignorant, infatuated, barbarians as they are, that if chance shall throw any of them into our hands, he may expect a felon's death." "Let an Abolitionist," said Mr. Preston, "come within the bounds of South Carolina, if we can catch him, we will try him, and notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments on earth, including the Federal government, we will hang him." The slave power of the South successfully resisted the demand of the Free States for the restoration of free negroes, taken from merchant vessels, compelled to touch at their ports—it consists with our certain knowledge that they set at defiance the British government in the case of free coloured seamen from the West Indies who were sold into Slavery after detention in prison according to the following law:—"Be it further enacted that if any vessel shall come into port or harbour of this State, from any other State or foreign port, having on board any free negroes, or persons of colour, as cooks, stewards, mariners, or in any other employment on board of any said vessel, such free negroes

or persons of colour shall be liable to be seized and confined in jail, until said vessel shall clear out and depart from the State: and that when said vessel is ready to sail, the captain of said vessel shall be bound to carry away the said free negro or person of colour, and to pay the expenses of his detention. And in case of his neglect or refusal to do so, he shall be liable to be indicted, and on conviction thereof, shall be fined in a sum *not less* than one thousand dollars and imprisoned *not less* than two months: and such free negroes or persons of colour shall be deemed and taken as absolute slaves, and sold in conformity to the provisions of the act passed on the twentieth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and twenty." The law of the Slave States is exactly the reverse of that of England—for a slave to touch the soil of our native land is to become free—for a freeman of colour to touch the shore of the Carolinas is to become a bondman—and not only so but every slave in the country who may communicate with him is liable to the infliction of thirty-nine lashes. To teach a slave to read or to write is deemed a crime for which similar penalties are enforced.

But in the settlements formed by the army and navy of the Free States all this is changed. At Beaufort, South Carolina, thousands are eagerly receiving instruction, and the superintendents of the plantation are required by the General in command to take an oath to affirm that "Slavery is a great wrong to humanity, and that he will respect the rights of the negroes, and cause all others under their jurisdiction to respect them." A band of Christian teachers, aided by the officers of the Massachusetts' regiments devote themselves sedulously to the work of teaching, and the reports furnished by them from Beaufort, Port Royal, Hatteras, and other places, respecting their docility, order, and eagerness to learn are most cheering. The Hon. Neal Dow gives a similar account of the emancipated negroes in a district extending seventy miles from Fort St. Philip, on the Mississippi, to New Orleans. As slaves the negroes are rendered *valueless*, but as free labourers they become indispensable. The Rev. W. Taylor, a native of the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, who has spent twenty years

in the South, says: "Several thousand slaves at Fortress Monroe, about twelve thousand at the Sea Islands, many at Newburn and at other points in North Carolina, having come within our lines, are emancipated and under instruction. Many slaves have escaped to the Northern States and to Canada—over sixty thousand from Missouri. Governor Letcher estimates the number of slaves already lost to Virginia by the war at eighty thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight."* The spirit and policy of the Federal government, in reference to the emancipated negroes of Port Royal, South Carolina, October 11th, 1862, we may infer from the remarkable address of General Mitchel: "Any good man," said the military commander, "I like, regardless of colour. I respect him as much whether he is black or white. . . . It seems to me that there is a new time coming for you coloured people; a better day is dawning for you oppressed and down-trodden blacks. I hope that the door is being opened for your deliverance. And now, how deeply you should ponder these words! If now you are unwilling to help yourselves, nobody will be willing to help you. You must trust yourselves to the guidance of those who have had better opportunities and have acquired superior wisdom, if you would be carried through this crisis successfully. And I believe the good God will bless your efforts, and lift you up to a higher level than you have yet occupied, so that you and your children may become educated and industrious citizens. *You must organize yourselves into families.* Husbands must love their wives and children, clinging to them and *turning from all others*, and feeling that their highest object in life, next to serving the good God, is to do all they can for their families, working for them continually. Good coloured friends, you have a great work to do, and you are in a position of responsibility—the whole North, all the people in the Free States, are looking at you and the experiment now tried in your behalf with the deepest interest." The entire address is of the same kind and judicious character.

THE REAL OBJECT OF THE WAR is worthy of close and

* "Cause and Probable Results of the Civil War in America." By Wm. Taylor, of California. Simpkin, Marshall & Co.; Warren Hall & Co.

discriminating attention. A military crusade for the liberation of the slaves at the outset of the struggle would have been alike impossible and unjustifiable. Any candid person of sufficient intelligence to understand the nature and design of civil government will admit this unhesitatingly. President Lincoln on his inauguration to office appears to have had no serious anticipation of civil war. In his inaugural address, March 4th, 1861, he said: "One section of our country believes Slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. . . Suppose you go to war; you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise *their constitutional right of amending it*, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, *I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject*, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances favour, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not specially chosen for this purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse."

The article in the Constitution which provides for amendments is to this effect: "Article V.—The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and pur-

poses, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any measure affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

MR. SEWARD counselled moderation. The proposal of the Crittenden Compromise by the Peace Conference was lost in the Senate by a single vote.

The leaders of the Southern Confederacy were not disposed to wait for the redress of their imputed grievances by any constitutional mode of action. In explanation of their precipitate course of action, the Hon. John Bell, of Nashville, said: "What gives me the greatest concern at present, is the painful conviction that the movement in favour of secession in Mississippi and other States of the South, is led, for the most part, by men of distinguished ability and influence, with whom the expediency of secession is a foregone conclusion and a settled conviction—men who can be reached by no argument or remonstrance—men who do not want to be convinced of the insufficiency of existing grievances to justify a disruption of the Union—men whose imaginations have been taken possession of, and their judgments led captive by the dazzling, but I think *delusive vision of a new, great, and glorious Republican empire, stretching far into the South*. The scheme of disunion, as I have reason to believe, has long been cherished by some of these leaders, and they have only waited a pretext more plausible than any heretofore presented, to attempt the accomplishment of it."

The Federal generals entered the Southern States in the first instance as friends to loyal citizens. General M'Clellan, before crossing the Ohio, issued the proclamation (May 26th, 1861) to the Union men of western Virginia, in which he said: "The general government cannot close its ears to the demands you have made for assistance. I have ordered troops to cross the river. They come as your friends and brothers: as enemies only to the armed rebels who are

preying upon you. Your homes, your families, and your property are safe under our protection. All your rights shall be religiously respected."

It was soon found that the Confederate leaders were terribly in earnest, and that it was needful to meet them with corresponding energy. The representatives in the Senate took alarm, and on the 18th of July, 1861, Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, offered an amendment to the Military Bill, "that no part of the army or navy shall be used to subjugate or hold as conquered provinces any sovereign State, lately one of the United States, nor in any way interfere with African Slavery." The debate was intensely interesting. Mr. Lane, of Kansas, said: "*In Kansas it was the common practice of the slave oligarchy to take free men and tie them to trees, and demand of them to recant their principles—to cut off finger after finger till the hands were fingerless, and then riddle them to death with bullets. Yet whose voice was heard on this side of this chamber, or that side in the Lower House in complaint? The Constitution may be trampled under foot to advance Slavery, and force it upon a gallant people; but when the President of the United States exercises extraordinary authority, but in my opinion within the Constitution, he is arraigned by distinguished gentlemen as having outraged that instrument and trampled it under foot.*"

Mr. Browning, of Illinois, said: "I cannot say I regret that this amendment has been proposed, though I shall certainly vote against it. I differ with the senator from Virginia in supposing that the institution of Slavery has nothing to do with the involving the country in the calamity which now presses upon it. Had it not been for this institution of Slavery, I cannot persuade myself to believe there ever would have been found a disloyal heart to the American Constitution upon the American continent. I believe the whole trouble has grown out of the institution of Slavery, its presence amongst us, and in the opinions it engenders among its friends. The war, it is true, is not a war for the extermination of Slavery; all that the government has done, or proposes to do, is in necessary self-defence. I can speak only for myself, but I believe that I utter the senti-

ments which will burst from every breast in the Northern States of this Confederacy ; that if our brethren of the South force upon us the issue that the government must be overthrown, and all the hopes for civil liberty, and all the hopes of all the oppressed under all despotisms on earth shall go down into a long, dark, dreary night of hopelessness and despair, or whether we shall retain the institution of Slavery, I say that my voice and my vote shall be given for sweeping the last vestige of the barbarism from the face of the continent. I trust that necessity may not be forced upon us, but if it is, let us meet it like men, transacting high, holy, and sacred duties that are laid upon us, as conservators of the eternal principles of right and justice for the whole human family.”*

By what steps the Republican party reached the conclusion that the emancipation of the slaves was a military necessity it were too long to relate. The grounds of that conviction are distinctly expressed in the following series of resolutions, passed unanimously at a Mass Meeting held in New York, March 6th, 1862.

“RESOLUTIONS.

“Resolved, That inasmuch as our nationality and democratic institutions are founded upon the idea that ‘all men are created equal, endowed by their creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,’ whatever tends to weaken and destroy the vital force of this idea in the popular heart constitutes the most dangerous and fatal enmity to the real unity, true peace and glory of the nation.

“Resolved, That national unity does by no means consist alone in the conservation of territorial domain, but in identity of idea and affection. In the heart of no people can a genuine love of liberty and the rights of human nature co-exist with a toleration of slavery. Slavery is treason to the fundamental idea of our national existence, and the war but its necessary and legitimate

* It is well known that for thirty years MR. LLOYD GARRISON has been the most uncompromising Abolitionist. In an address given to a congregation of coloured citizens of Boston, July 21, 1861, he said: “I know that the war is declared to be solely to support the flag and the Union, and not for the abolition of slavery. What do I care for these nice distinctions, when I see that it is an array of all that is free in the land against all that is oppressive and tyrannical. When the flag that floats over my head is hateful to the slaveholder—so hateful that he wants to smother me in its folds—it begins to look handsome in my eyes, because it is, for the time being, the flag of emancipation. If it were the flag of slavery, then the slaveholder would himself rejoice to see it waving in the wind, and be the readiest to rally under it!

“The lines are drawn. Say what men may, this war is really a conflict between the spirit of light and the spirit of darkness ; between the forces of freedom on the one hand, and those of slavery on the other.”

effect. In the present imminent crisis he who seeks to maintain slavery becomes thereby the abettor of the great treason.

"Resolved, That in the present extreme exigency brought upon the country by slavery, we hold the right of the national government to destroy that sole cause of all our disasters, not only to be clearly within the constitution, but to be imperatively demanded by it:

"First, upon the ground that its existence is wholly incompatible with national self-preservation. Either the nation must die or slavery must.

"Second—Because the rights and powers conferred by the laws of war upon all sovereignties, and under our system of delegated power primarily upon the President and Congress, constitutionally require its destruction as the only effectually means of ending the conflict and re-establishing permanent national peace and prosperity.

"And lastly and pre-eminently, because the supreme jurisdiction of the national constitution over all the territories now occupied by the rebel states must be held to be exclusive of the traitorous rebel authorities therein established, by virtue of which alone slavery now therein exists, and that wherever the constitution has exclusive jurisdiction it ordains liberty and not slavery. This is the very ground upon which the people placed the present Administration in power, and in derogation of which the rebels wage their war.

"Resolved, That while slavery remained upon its own ground good citizens might deem themselves bound by a just respect for the national constitution to refrain from dealing with it as in its own nature it deserved. But since its masters have begun a war for its triumph and the subjugation of our national government and free institutions, we deem it our supremest duty never to make peace with or cease our conflict with it until it shall be extirpated from the whole land.

"Resolved, That we entertain no jot of hatred or hostility towards the great body of the people of the rebel states; and, therefore, while we stand ever ready to welcome them to a loyal reunion under our glorious national constitution, in the words of the Farewell Address of the Father of his Country, we desire 'that the happiness of the people of these states may be made complete under the AUSPICES OF LIBERTY,' and not utterly and for ever rendered impossible by the re-institution of slavery.

"We repudiate, therefore, and utterly repel the idea that the property and blood of the loyal people of the free states are to be wasted without result, in the suppression of the military power of the rebels, in order that the Capitol may in the end be surrendered into the hands of the conquered traitors, and the National Government be again put under the heel of the slave barons.

"Resolved, Therefore, that amid the varied events which are occurring during the momentous struggle in which we are engaged, it is the duty and the interest of the government and the people to adopt and to advocate such measures as will ensure universal emancipation, and thus complete the work which the revolution began."

The religious associations with remarkable unanimity have adopted resolutions in perfect harmony with the Anti-Slavery policy of the government. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at their fifty-second annual meeting, held at Springfield, Mass., October 9th, 1862, adopted the following minute:—

"The board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at their last annual meeting, expressed their sympathy with the national Government in its struggle

with rebellion, and their prayer to the God of nations to so overrule the conflict as to crush the rebellion, and to remove *slavery, its prime cause*, and to establish peace, prosperity and righteousness throughout the land.

"Again assembled for the review of our work in its progress and in its hinderances, we are compelled to recognise the relation between the great extension of Christian benevolence, with which we are entrusted, and the conflict of our country with a huge and desperate rebellion; we are reminded that wherever our missionaries labor, their personal safety, their liberty to pursue their work, and their privilege of standing unawed before the rudest of barbarous nations, are partly dependent, under the providence of God, on the fact that they are citizens of the United States, protected in all parts of the earth by the influential power of the great republic, and we are compelled to see that what this great rebellion aims at, the division of our country among two or more naturally independent confederacies, weak in themselves and jealous and hostile towards each other, would weaken the hands of American missionaries in every part of the world.

"We are reminded, too, that the entire moral influence of the American churches upon the world is far more powerful and beneficent, from the fact that they are the churches of a great, united, sovereign and self-governed people. Therefore, it is impossible for us to entertain a thought of any termination of this war, otherwise than in the perfect restoration of the Union under the Constitution, which by the favor of God has made this nation heretofore so great and prosperous in its freedom. We record again our loyal sympathy with the President of the United States in the struggle to vindicate and maintain 'the supreme law of the land,' according to his inaugural oath, and our confidence that according to his proclaimed intention, he will not fail to employ for that purpose against the enemies of the United States, all those powers with which he is invested by the Constitution of the United States, and all those means of subjugation which are warranted by the law of nations and by the law of God.

"And with our renewed prayer to God, whose displeasure at the wickedness which fills the earth with sadness and oppression, all history has testified, and so often wrought deliverance for our fathers in their perils, we record our grateful confidence that the rebellion will be crushed, that *slavery, its prime cause, will be removed*, and that peace, prosperity, and righteousness, will be permanently established in the land."

The American Missionary Association, at its annual meeting at Cleveland, October 15th, 1862, adopted the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That we deem it a sacred Christian duty to uphold our present administration in sustaining Constitutional Government, and in putting down this slaveholder's rebellion, that the officers of our Government, civil and military, and especially the President, have our sympathies under their great burdens and responsibilities, and our continual prayer that they may have wisdom and energy; that we sympathise deeply with the noble patriots who have imperilled life before the sword and the pestilence, and also with the thousands of bereaved ones who mourn their slain.

"That we see occasion for deep solicitude lest the penitence of this nation for its great national sin of oppression is not yet deep, thorough, and acceptable to the Most High;—for grief that its anti-slavery action since the war began, seems to have been largely prompted by the self-interest of the white race, rather than by the fear of God and the justice due to the oppressed;—for grief, also, that prejudice, hate, and contempt towards the oppressed race is so widely diffused and has gone so deep into the national character.

"In view of which great sins and evils, we feel called upon to humble our-

selves deeply before God, to implore His mercy, and to pray that through His providence and grace the hearts of the people may be turned to love and righteousness, that so God's wrath may turn from us that the nation perish not.

"That yet, with gratitude to God, we record *progress*: in the prohibition of slavery in the district of Columbia, and in all the Federal territories; in a new and better treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade, and for the formal recognition of the nationality of Hayti and Liberia; in various legislation looking toward the breaking down of the slave power; in the great advance of public sentiment toward a more just abhorrence of slavery, and in favour of emancipation; in the recent proclamation of the President, which inspires the hope, that under God, the freedom of large masses of the slaves is near at hand; and especially, that God is pushing forward by his glorious and manifest providences the consummation which Christian anti-slavery men have long and ardently sought—freedom to all the enslaved; a government with no standpoint of unrighteousness and oppression, and a Christianity bearing affective, self-consistent, and perpetual protest against all sin.

"That we rejoice that God in his providence has begun to burst open the gates of the Bastile, in which four millions of our brethren have so long lain bound, that several thousands have already emerged to light and liberty, and other thousands and millions are hopefully coming; that among these thousands a door is open for missionary labour at once so wide and so hopeful of the choicest fruits; that this Association feel pressed for many reasons to enter and occupy this field with their utmost ability—the emancipated being eminently ripe for the Gospel, eager for a knowledge of the Bible and for ability to read it; and their social and moral elevation being beyond measure valuable, as a testimony against slavery and against the fallacies and falsehoods alleged for its justification."

The leading religious bodies of every name, excepting the Roman Catholics, throughout the Northern States have passed resolutions all to the same general effect.

Events have led the government virtually to adopt this decided and advanced policy. The Confederate generals recognize the war now as one of emancipation. General Beauregard, in a dispatch dated Savannah, October 23rd, 1862, says: "The ABOLITIONISTS attacked in force yesterday." No doubt the negroes understand the character of the war as one for abolition. Dr. Hoge, in the *Princeton Review* for January, 1861, says: "Public speeches are made in every town and village of the South. In these speeches Northern men are denounced as enemies. Orators labour to convince the people that property in slaves is in danger; that the North is sending emissaries through the land to promote emancipation; that the success of the Republicans would be the triumph of abolitionism: and, if not resisted, the death-blow to Slavery. Who hear those speeches? The slaves hear them and believe them, though nobody else may. Southern planters, also, do not hesitate to discuss

all these questions around their dinner tables, while their slaves are standing at their elbows. We have heard and seen this with our own ears and eyes. Southern men say they are living in a powder magazine, and resent the show of combustibles a thousand miles off, and yet daily disport themselves with fireworks. It is a miracle of mercy that an explosion has not long since occurred."

Such are the facts, and such is the evidence on which they rest.

Rightly to understand the question of the American crisis it is needful to keep in mind the peculiar vocabulary of the South. The "*domestic institution*" means *Slavery* with all its degradation, vices and miseries, that condition in which amongst four millions of people marriage has no legal validity. By the "*rights of property*" we are to understand the power to sell human beings as chattels, regardless of all the ties of natural affection. "*Southern independence*" is the uncontrolled supremacy that would render the resources of the western world tributary to the empire founded on the "corner stone" of Slavery. "*Liberty*" is the removal of all the restraints that would prevent or hinder the accomplishment of their master purpose. "*Chivalry*" is the skill and prowess needful for the brilliant achievements by which human servitude is to be made perpetual.

The nature of Slavery is unchanged. Its tendency has ever been to corrupt all moral principles. It was said in reference to the Slavery in our own colonies: "The West India planters view it with the utmost complacency: in their eyes it seems to be a most finished and exquisite specimen of social order, a masterpiece of policy, the most precious legacy bequeathed them by their ancestors, which they are bound to maintain inviolate in every part, to defend at the greatest risk, and to transmit unimpaired to future generations. They anticipate with the utmost confidence the perpetual duration of the system, and reprobate every measure which has the remotest tendency to endanger its existence, as the offspring of indescribable folly and wickedness. To such a degree are their moral perceptions vitiated, that they really believe that they have a prescrip-

tive right to be guilty of injustice, to trample on the image of their Maker, to erase his superscription, and to treat that portion of their species which fortune has subjected to their power, as mere beasts of burden, divested of the essential characteristics of humanity. In this instance, impious speculations have been resorted to in palliation of practical enormities: nor have there been wanting those who avow their persuasion that the negro is more nearly allied to the orang-outrang than to the human kind.

"Hence it appears that a state of Slavery is in its operation as mischievous to the master as to the slave. If its effects on the latter are more visible in his corporeal structure, in his debased physiognomy, his dejected countenance, his lacerated skin, and not unfrequently in his 'wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores;' its effects on the mind of the former are not less perceivable, in the most inveterate prejudice, a pride which spurns the restraints of justice, a violence which is deaf to the dictates of compassion—in a word, in a capricious and uncontrollable self-will, which lays waste all the fine sensibilities of the soul, and renders its possessor too often a rebel to his God, a torment to himself, and a terror to his fellow-creatures."* We have an exact counterpart of this description in the character and conduct of the slaveowners of the Southern Confederacy.

And yet there is no small danger lest we should yield to the spell of the fatal serpentine fascination. Some appear to be in feverish haste to recognize a nation based confessedly on principles more iniquitous than any known to us in the history of civilization. The countrymen of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Buxton, in not a few instances, affect to see no distinction between a war for the maintenance and perpetuity of Slavery and one waged for preserving the integrity of a nation and all the interests involved in its preservation. We have no confidence in war as an instrument for the extension of moral principles and deplore its horrors, but this is no reason why we should become the mean apologists of Slavery.

What renders the existing concession to the slave power the more inexcusable, is the fact that it is perfectly gra-

* Robert Hall.

tuitous. We are told by our greatest practical political economist that intervention in the present struggle would only tend to increase the perplexity and distress of our suffering countrymen in the manufacturing districts, and that there is no great probability that the American people will consent to the permanent disruption of their nation. However that may be, we owe a most sacred and important duty in preserving our own moral integrity in the cause of emancipation. There are certain moral principles of right and wrong involved in Slavery on which there can be no consistent neutrality. Why should England at a juncture like the present fall back in this moral struggle from the van to the rear? When Slavery is being abolished by Russia, Holland, Denmark, after our own example, and that of France, why should we degrade ourselves before Europe by a course which is as undignified as it is perilous? Are there no signs of the Divine hand in these stupendous changes? Is the rashness of the South and the unanticipated advance of sentiment of the North to be accounted for in any other way than by the working of Him who can make even the wrath of man to praise Him? If He will break in pieces the oppressor, why should we vainly attempt to prevent the stroke? If it is His purpose in these events to save the children of the needy, and to redeem their souls from deceit and violence, why should we attempt to resist His will.

Contemporaneously with the liberation of the negroes by myriads, we find fields continually open for the supplies of cotton in other parts of the world. A writer in the *North British Review*, says: "Never before have geographical discovery, religious effort, commercial enterprise, and philanthropic ardour pointed so unanimously in the same direction, forecasting the probability that cotton, which has shaped the Southern policy and has founded the new empire, will be, under the operation of a retributive Providence, the means of the overthrow of Southern Slavery, and Southern power together." It is surely hazarding little to say that a nation on such a foundation must perish. But, however strong or permanent it may become, no consistent friend of emancipation can for any consideration be identified with its supporters.

It becomes us moreover to take heed that by no word or act we interpose the slightest obstacle to the deliverance of the slaves from bondage. The dawn of freedom has naturally excited ardent hopes and aspirations. The slave power once effectually broken can never be repaired. But there is an interval in which the perilous experiment may be made to remand back the escaped "contrabands" to heavier, and humanly speaking, to hopeless bondage. The attempt may be made to enclose the four millions once more in the grasp of oppression, and to render the yoke more galling. It is certain that ascendancy now on the part of the Confederacy would be followed by a severer regime.

For want of fidelity to the principles we have so long professed, we might be left in thoughtlessness or voluntary ignorance to become accessory to this crime against humanity, and to suffer in consequence the retribution that must follow. It is not enough with pharisaic complacency to say that we have "washed our hands" of Slavery, and leave the helpless victims of it to the uncontrolled domination of men who deliberately calculate on "starvation in Europe" as the most effective means for accomplishing their object. We are deeply responsible for the exertion of moral influence. "So, I returned and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun; and, behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter." "If thou sayest, Behold we knew it not: doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it? and He that keepeth thy soul doth not He render to everyman according to his works?"

In the recent proposal of France for mediation on the part of the maritime powers (dated Paris, October 30, 1862) it is stated that "There now arises the apprehension of servile war." The dread of insurrection has always been the plea for arresting any effort in favour of the slave. In the House of Delegates, in Virginia, Mr. BERRY said: "We have, as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light might enter the minds of the slaves. If we could extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be completed. They would then be on a level with the beasts of

the field and *we should be safe.*" The only remedy surely for this explosive tendency in the slave community, is to remove its obvious cause and to give the negro a personal interest in the security of the country, and to recognize his right to the disposal of his own labour. What we have chiefly to fear in Europe is the pestilent influence in various quarters of the servile spirit that threatens to sap all our moral strength.

The result of the elections, in New York and other States, in favour of the Democratic candidates, is received by a portion of our journals with jubilant satisfaction. We must wait to understand their real bearing. The New York correspondent of the *London American*, who speaks with characteristic bitterness of the advocates of immediate abolition, attributes it to the undue censure of General M'Clellan and the unjust depreciation of President Lincoln. "The election of the two Woods," he says, "in this city is deeply regretted by thousands, as *no confidence is placed in either their moral or political integrity by any man who knows them.* But the tide of conservative principles was so strong and irresistible in this city, that it carried into power much flood-wood that, but for the impetuosity of its current, would have been excluded from the general success that has been won." The New England States have stood nobly and consistently by their Anti-Slavery principles. There are some signs that even the Democratic party are in a transition state on the subject of Slavery. The conversion of some of their leaders to the Anti-Slavery party, according to Mr. Seymour, the newly elected Governor of New York, has been very rapid. In the history of our own struggles for beneficial reforms, we know how frequently it has happened that those who long resisted the principle of a measure finally adopted it from political necessity. "We solemnly believe," says the *New York Observer*, "that the time has come for all good men to lay aside their individual, party and sectional sympathies, while they concentrate their energies in sustaining such a public sentiment as will secure the adoption of some plan for the deliverance of our whole country from a gigantic evil, the 'perpetuation' of which is now openly avowed by the rebels to be the ground on which they made and carry on the war."

Those who labour for the removal a stupendous wrong which has existed for generation. And the support of which involves the interests of its abettors, must stand prepared for misrepresentation, grievous delay, and frequent reverse. Slavery in our own colonies was not overthrown at a single stroke. In 1783, Lord North declared that the slave-trade had become *necessary* in a commercial view to almost every nation in Europe. On the 7th of July, in the same year, six persons met to consider what steps they should take for the abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade. In the third year of their efforts they engaged the services of THOMAS CLARKSON. They were denounced in Parliament as "hypocritical, fanatical, and methodistical." Abolition it was said would lead "to insurrection, massacre, and ruin in the colonies: and in Great Britain, to the reduction of her revenue, the decay of her naval strength, and the bankruptcy of her merchants and manufacturers." We know the result. Victory came through a long succession of defeats. Twenty-four years after the formation of the committee of six the slave-trade was abolished. The struggle was continued thirty-one years longer, and Slavery in the British dominions ceased. The end took the most sanguine by surprise. Let us keep in mind our own experience in watching the course of the far greater conflict in America. The advanced party need all the moral support England can give. Let us yield it to them steadily, generously, and with Christian sympathy and forbearance. This long agony will not be endured in vain. The gloom may deepen as the shadow of death, but as we feel its icy coldness the hour is near when the day will break and we shall rejoice in its reviving light with emancipated millions who now sigh for its approach.

P.S.—We have great satisfaction in referring to the following address of the Anti-Slavery Society in unison with the statements we have made:—

"The committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society having observed, with the deepest sorrow, the efforts which are being made to infuse into the minds of the people of this country sentiments friendly to slavery, feel it to be their duty to reiterate, and to commend to the serious consideration of their fellow-countrymen, the fundamental principle of the anti-slavery movement in England—that 'slave-holding is a sin and a crime before God;' and, therefore, that unconditional emanci-

pation, wherever slavery is maintained, is alone consistent with the Divine law and with the requirements of justice and humanity.

"While the committee believe that the efforts ~~recommended~~ to have not yet pervaded the community at large, the tone and spirit of certain articles in a portion of the public press, the misrepresentation and perversion of facts, the biassed addresses of many men of influence, all with the manifest tendency to bespeak favour for those who are contending for the extension and consolidation of slavery, and to disparage and discourage all efforts directed to its extinction, impress the committee with the painful conviction that, in some quarters, a demoralising effect has been produced.

"The committee deplore, and regard with profound grief, the fratricidal conflict between the two sections of the American Union; but, while anxious to avoid expressing any opinion likely to be construed into an approval of a war policy, they regard it as established beyond disproof that *the South was not only the aggressor, but designedly provoked an armed contest with the United States Government, with the express sole object of founding a Confederacy to perpetuate slavery.* On the other hand, the United States Government, embracing the political anti-slavery party of the North—commonly called the Republican party—has initiated and carried into effect measures in furtherance of negro emancipation, which entitle it to the sympathy of all true friends of freedom. It has enforced the statutes against slave-trading, which former Administrations, being pro-slavery, had allowed to become inoperative, and has prosecuted slave-traders to conviction and punishment; it has entered into a new anti-slave-trade treaty with Great Britain, conceding right of search, which former Governments, overruled by the Southern party, had steadfastly refused. To promote the speedy settlement of the Territories by a non-slaveholding population, it has enacted a Homestead Bill, giving 160 acres of land to every immigrant, irrespective of his national origin; and, moreover, carrying into effect the policy of Jefferson, ratified by Act of Congress in 1789, it has prohibited slavery for ever in those Territories, upon which issue alone the Southern candidate for the Presidency was defeated at the election which immediately preceded the present rebellion; it has also abolished slavery from the District of Columbia. It has virtually repealed the Fugitive Slave Act, by prohibiting the rendition of slaves escaping from the rebel States to the lines of the United States' army, providing compensation on account of such as may belong to loyal citizens, it has recognised and entered into diplomatic relations with the Negro Republics of Liberia and Haiti; by the Confiscation Bill—considerately made non-retrospective—it, in effect, proclaimed emancipation to the slaves in the rebel States within a specified period; a majority in Congress has ratified the President's plan of compensated emancipation for such slave States as may elect to take advantage of it, and only recently the President has announced that the details of the measure will be submitted to the next Congress, with a view to its immediate practical application.

"Lastly, the President has lately issued a proclamation, declaring absolutely and for ever free all the slaves in those States which shall be in rebellion on the 1st of January next, and pointing to the measures in progress for the abolition of slavery in the loyal States, upon the principle of indemnification.

"While the committee deprecate a resort to arms, even with the avowed purpose of promoting the extinction of slavery, they reiterate the opinion that the friends of the slave in the United States, under whatsoever designation, have established a just claim upon the sympathy of the friends of freedom throughout Europe.

"In this spirit, and with the object of evoking such an expression of sympathy as shall encourage the emancipation party in the United States, in their most difficult position, to persevere in their endeavours to obtain justice for the slave, the committee issue the present address, earnestly commending it to the favourable consideration of their fellow-countrymen, and to the friends of humanity in all lands.

"On behalf of the Committee,

"THOMAS BINNS, Chairman.

"S. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary."

9, Surrey Square, S., London, Nov. 25, 1862.